The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 15. No. 9 Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. November, 1957

SCEF President Commends Ike

"As a southerner whose people lost everything they had in the 1860's, I wish to thank you and to express my deepest gratitude to you for the firm stand you have taken," SCEF President Aubrey Williams wired Eisenhower on the day after U.S. troops were sent to restore order at Little Rock.

The telegram continued: "You have been most patient. In fact it has seemed to many of us too much so. But you are to be commended in having given the advocates of the sacredness of states rights every possible opportunity to maintain law and order and they have failed.

"You took the only course left to you as the chief peace officer of the United States.

"You are finding out what many of us in the South have known for a long time that the only time states rights are used is to obstruct the rights of minorities which are powerless and have practically no rights or protection under so-called states rights.

"States rights you will find, Mr. President, is an excuse for obstructing the carrying out of laws and court orders which a particular state does not like."

The telegram was front-page news in Montgomery, Ala., where Williams lives, and was quoted widely in the press.

Alva W. Taylor

Alva W. Taylor, SCEF secretary, died in Louisiana September 24, at 85. On his 80th birthday, The Southern Patriot designated him the "dean of Southern liberals." Dr. Taylor wrote at this time:

"My interest was always to teach students for the ministry and other religious work the essentials of Christian Ethics and to spur them up to have the courage to practice and preach it."

He taught by example as well as by the spoken word and never faltered in what he considered to be right, even though it meant the loss of his teaching position.

As founder of the social action department of the Disciples of Christ, social ethics teacher at Vanderbilt University, writer for religious journals, labor mediator, and leader in organizations opposing segregation, he lived a life that was one long crusade for labor, peace, and interracial understanding—or, as he put it, "the realization of the Kingdom of God in human relations."

Perhaps his most lasting gift to humanity and his greatest memorial lies in the fact that today all over the South—and indeed the nation—there are hundreds of men and women working for that "Kingdom" whose lives were changed because they knew and learned from Dr. Taylor.

Report from Little Rock

Was the Approach Bold Enough?

By GRACE LORCH

(The writer of the following article is the Little Rock white woman who received national publicity when she defied jeers and threats to rescue Negro Student Elizabeth Eckford from a cat-calling mob at Central High School September 4. "Six months from now, you'll be ashamed of what you are doing," Mrs. Lorch told the angry crowd, and she led Miss Eckford away and home on a bus. Before moving to Little Rock two years ago, Mrs. Lorch and her husband, Dr. Lee Lorch, earned reputations as defenders of decency in efforts against school segregation in Nashville and housing segregation at Stuyvesant Town, N. Y.)

LITTLE ROCK—One picture of the Little Rock scene profoundly affected people in all parts of the world; the picture of Elizabeth Eckford, one of the nine Negro students, followed by a jeering crowd with armed guardsmen in the background. It showed, as no words could, the major fact of the situation, i.e., tremendous powers of society marshalled against the hopes and ambitions of a child. In so doing, it went far beyond the question of racial barriers and probably caused people everywhere to think of their own children.

The people who made up that mob, many of them "ill-fed ill-clad, ill housed," need to look back at the picture as well. Their children too have walls to break down, not as direct victims of race prejudice, but as victims of poverty and ignorance.

The Little Rock incidents, which shocked the world, took the city by surprise as well. Last spring, in the election for two places on the school board, two segregationist candidates supported by the White Citizens Council were defeated two to one. The elected members were pledged to the board's limited integration program, which had been approved by the courts. Armed with a federal court order and a 2 to 1 majority at the ballot box, the school board thought it had no cause to expect serious trouble.

However, the board's plan had weaknesses. An article in the October 9 issue of *Christian Century* by Colbert S. Cartwright, a prominent Little Rock minister, points out the board's narrow legalistic approach of mere compliance with the law, as against positive support for integration, and the failure to enlist community participation in preparing the way.

An even more serious weakness, I believe, was the limited nature of the plan, since it involved in reality only one school and a handful of pupils. A bolder plan, operating on all levels, might have had the effect of discouraging the White Citizens Council, and, at least, would have made it divide its forces among many schools.

Then too the school board plan appears likely to leave the "silk stocking" districts permanently segregated be-

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Clinton One Year Later: The Job Is Integration

BY SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS

(When disorders flared this fall at newly-desegregated schools in Little Rock and Nashville, it was significant that in Clinton, Tenn.—scene of violent disorders last year—Negroes were attending school quietly with whites. Because of the importance of the change that has come in Eastern Tennessee, The Patriot asked some people close to the scene to analyze what had happened there in the past year and describe the present situation. The following story is a joint analysis by these people.)

CLINTON, TENN.—Clinton has overcome the turbulent days of *desegregation.* When Negro children enrolled for the second consecutive school year, legal segregation crumbled.

The children are safely in high school, working now on the real problem — *integration.* Little Rock and Nashville captured the headlines, since there the phase of the struggle was actually whether segregation is going to be abolished, but Clinton without fanfare entered the second phase—the very human and long range one—of integration.

Overt violence and intimidation in Clinton appears to be over. Petty but insignificant attempts to return to segregation may continue. Negro students, backed by their parents, entered Clinton high school with great determination, and the majority of the community that took no overt part in the trouble last year is apparently resigned to desegregation.

Segregationists are unusually quiet, apparently out of fear of the Federal Courts. There is little doubt that the jail sentences imposed by a federal court jury have added immeasurably to the tranquility of Clinton.

The public press recently quoted an arch segregationist: "I don't like it but what can I do with the Federal court looking down my throat."

There is perhaps another public feeling that is having some influence. Some of the people of Clinton, as they reflect on the winter of 1956, are ashamed of the way in which their community behaved.

The picture is somewhat clouded by several remaining problems, however which must be met by the Negro and white community.

The white community in Clinton can be categorized as follows:

1. A small group of persons who will do nearly anything to get Negro children out of the school.
2. A tiny group that for moral reasons would like to retain integration.
3. The overwhelming majority of the people who have done nothing. This group's silence gave support to the segregationists a year ago. Their failure to take positive steps now pits the Negro against the first class.

Motivation of this majority is paramount to a solution. This majority is against integration, but it is for law and order. The common meeting ground with the Negro and with the second group listed among the whites above is therefore only on the question of law and order. Real progress in integration will come painfully slow until the white majority is prodded into organized positive activity to support integration because it wants law and order.

There is another problem that has been in the situation from the beginning. The Negro community is primarily located on a hill overlooking the city. White real estate speculators would like to drive the Negroes off the hill in order to develop the property for suburban and white homes. This question should be brought into the open and frankly resolved.

In this integration phase successful academic standing for the Negro students is of utmost importance. Special tutoring of these students may be the immediate answer. Integration in the grammar school is obviously the long range goal.

The Negro community, despite its tremendous courage, is still poorly organized. Concentration on the legal and day-to-day problem of *desegregation* has caused a neglect of the area of leadership-training and leadership-development needed in *integration.*

There are still many mutual problems that must be solved by both the Negro and white communities. But at the moment segregation is dead; it may take a decade or more for integration to be fully realized. A much greater degree of community organization is needed by both Negro and white if integration is to proceed orderly and speedily.

Report from Little Rock

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cause of attendance areas established and locations of new schools constructed. This has enabled demagogues to agitate some whites fearful of jeopardizing further their own difficult economic positions or losing what little social status they think they possess.

As a result, the state labor movement has been badly squeezed. Its leadership issued an appeal for peaceful compliance with integration and there are a number of integrated locals. But Faubus's actions have divided the unions. National leaders should assist by large-scale southwide education on racial matters; avoidance or temporization plays into the hands of demagogues, many of them strike-breakers, now inflaming racial passions in the hope of sundering the labor movement.

Despite these flaws, there is good reason to believe that integration at Central High School would have been accomplished without serious incident if the Governor had kept hands off. When he announced that the Arkansas National Guard would surround the school and keep out the Negro students, he did more than encourage the White Citizens Council. **He gave it an army.**

For the future there are many reasons for confidence, the first of which is the behavior of the students, Negro and white, in this crisis. Second, the churches have shown constructive leadership. Negro and white ministers accompanied the Negro children on their first trip to the school. The President of the (interracial) Ministerial Alliance Rev. Dunbar Ogden, preached a forceful sermon supporting integration.

He based his sermon on the theme of brotherhood and morality, not merely on formal compliance with the law. (Dean Pike of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine has recently made the point that the ministry should stress the moral law, observing that "In South Africa, Christian ministers have to speak *against* the law of the land.")

Third, there has been strong local leadership, as evidenced by Governor Faubus's constant attacks on the Mayor of Little Rock, W. W. Mann, ex-Governor Sidney McMath, and the editor of the Arkansas Gazette, Harry Ashmore. The political courage of these three, together with the steadfastness of the nine children and the determination of the Negro community as typified by Mrs. L. C. Bates, Arkansas State President of the NAACP, have all combined to encourage many other prominent persons and organization's to speak out, with the result that community opinion is now organizing itself for peaceful compliance with the court orders.

Decency Pays Off in Oklahoma

Arkansas Churchwomen Condemn Segregation

White southern churchwomen continued to speak out against race prejudice and hatred. At the height of the crisis in their city, the Council of Churchwomen of Little Rock and North Little Rock adopted a resolution saying: "It is our Christian conviction that enforced segregation of any group of persons because of race, creed or color is a violation of Christian principles . . ." The United Churchwomen of Atlanta also issued a statement deploring the tension and violence engendered where state officials interpose themselves between the authority of the federal government and the constitutional rights of citizens.

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Gov. Raymond Gary of Oklahoma said recently that partial integration in that state has "enriched our school program by $750,000 a year" by combining facilities. About 20 per cent of the state's Negroes are now in integrated schools.

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The Tuskegee, Ala., Civic Association has lost the first round of its legal battle against a state-issued injunction, but its "crusade for citizenship" goes on without faltering.

Circuit Judge William O. Walton recently turned down a TCA motion to dissolve the injunction, which prohibits the organization from conducting a boycott of white merchants. Negro Tuskegeans quit buying at white stores last June after the Alabama Legislature passed a law cutting most Negro voters out of the city limits of the town.

No one could figure out how the injunction was going to force Negro buyers into the stores. Over 2,500 supporters of the TCA turned out for the court hearing on the injunction and about that many attend weekly mass meetings.

Meantime, sanity had at least a reprieve in the Alabama Legislature, when a bill to abolish Macon County and divide its population among other counties failed to pass. The Senate passed the bill, but the House voted to create a committee to study the proposal before the 1959 session. Governor Folsom killed seven other racist bills with a pocket veto, but a strengthened pupil-placement bill became law.

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A Jewish couple in Falls Church, Va., Mr. and Mrs. Samuel C. Klein, refused to sign a pupil placement form that would allow Virginia school officials the right to assign pupils according to race, and as a result their 12-year-old son is out of school. Klein said the refusal to sign was a matter of "conscience," and that he decided to "stand for what I believe to be right." His wife said: "Someone has to stand up for Negroes and we want to do our part. If everyone just sits back and does nothing, then there is no progress."

The Louisville Defender commented editorially that the Klein couple "stands as a shining example of the many Jewish people in the South who refuse to allow their principles to be subjugated to the blind prejudice of racists."

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The Tallahassee, Fla., Inter-Civic Council recently argued in circuit court on its appeal of the conviction of white and Negro students who rode the city's buses together. The case involves two Negro students from Florida A&M University and one white student from Florida State University.

The judge did not render an immediate decision. Said the Inter-Civic Council: "Unless Judge Walker's decision is in harmony with the Supreme Court's mandates, the Constitution of the United States as well as basic Christian principles, we intend to invade the highest court of the land until Negroes here in Tallahassee and Florida can ride city buses as American citizens. God tolerates wrong, but does not suffer it forever."

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The NAACP went to court in Richmond, Va., seeking to halt enforcement of five anti-NAACP bills passed by the Virginia Legislature. Among the witnesses who testified in behalf of the NAACP were two Virginia white women: Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle, an SCEF board member of Charlottesville, and Mrs. Barbara S. Marx of Arlington.

Vote Drives Start Throughout South

All over the South this month, groups were organizing to forge a key weapon for progress in the region—an enlarged Negro vote.

At the fall meeting of the Georgia Voters League, President John Wesley Dobbs, an SCEF board member, announced plans to "register 300,000 Negro men and women as voters in Georgia."

In New Orleans, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance announced a campaign to add 45,000 Negro voters to the rolls; Local 1419, Independent, International Longshoremen's Association, launched a similar drive in that city.

In Knoxville, Tenn., a drive to register 9,000 potential voters was shaping up under the leadership of Knoxville College professors.

Voter registration drive leaders in Alabama held a two-day meeting in Birmingham the last week in October to make plans.

Meanwhile, 5,000 Negro voters in Mobile, Ala., were credited as the deciding factor in a municipal election there. The three incumbent city commissioners were re-elected, despite Ku-Klux-Klan-backed opponents and charges that two of the incumbents had gone to the defense of a former Alabama NAACP official when he was under attack.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce in Winston-Salem, N. C., has asked the ministers of that city to speak out from their pulpits against a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan.

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A large number of white clergymen in Nashville spoke out this fall to condemn the anti-Negro violence in this city. The Rev. Raymond T. Ferris of Christ Church declared the issue was "no longer race relations, but lawlessness, violence and rule by emotions."

A Community Walks for Understanding

A novel idea in interracial activity is the recent "Community Garden Walk" sponsored by the Human Relations Committee of the First Methodist Church in Pasadena, Calif.

A California SCEF supporter, Mrs. Clarice Campbell, a member of this committee, wrote that almost 200 Pasadenans turned out on a Sunday afternoon for a tour of gardens in an interracial area. For many of the participants, Mrs. Campbell said, it was their first interracial experience. One was overheard to remark: "This is wonderful. I came over here to get something, and I got it." Another said: "These people talk together just as though there were no differences in them."

The Garden Walk is only one of many practical activities carried on by this church committee to break down racial barriers. Besides organized events, members are encouraged to plan, on their own initiative, at least one outing or social gathering with members of another race each month. "We try to live as though integration were a fact now—rather than discuss the need for it and how to get it," Mrs. Campbell wrote.